

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will please come to order. There is a pending motion to reconsider.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. If the Senate will give us just a few minutes here, I ask unanimous consent that I may be allowed to yield to the Senator from Texas for 3 minutes to discuss her amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from Texas is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Thank you, Mr. President.

AMENDMENT NO. 81 WITHDRAWN

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, the amendment that is the regular order is my amendment on Kosovo. A lot has happened since I offered this amendment early last week, because my amendment actually asks the President to come forward and tell us what he was going to do in Kosovo. This assumed a peace agreement. It assumes that we would have a plan put in place before we would take action in Kosovo.

Unfortunately, time has bypassed this amendment. Unfortunately, the President made up his mind, I think, before he ever talked to Members of Congress that we would bomb Kosovo. I think we are taking a very important step and one that I hope everyone will take seriously.

Bombing a sovereign country that has not threatened the United States of America is a very serious step. I think we also need to look at the NATO mission. We are changing the mission of NATO without debate, without a vote of Congress. We are turning NATO from a defense alliance to an alliance that has now decided it is going to take an offensive action against a country that is not in NATO. This is unprecedented.

So I do think the President needs to come to Congress with a plan. If we are going to take step 1, we need to know what step 2, 3, and 4 are. We need to know what could happen and what circumstances would cause us to have more commitments in the Balkans.

Mr. President, I think it is premature for us to be doing what we apparently are going to be doing. But I think my amendment has been bypassed by time. So I am going to withdraw my amendment and let the supplemental appropriations bill go forward on the promise from our leadership that we will take up a bill on Kosovo that will have teeth, that will have an up-or-down vote, as Congress is required to do when we have this kind of action by our military forces.

So, Mr. President, I withdraw my amendment. I look forward to the debate. I look forward to Congress exercising its responsibility under the Con-

stitution that if there is going to be a war declared, that it will be Congress that will declare it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

The amendment (No. 81) was withdrawn.

AMENDMENT NO. 142 WITHDRAWN

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to withdraw amendment No. 142 that I submitted on behalf of the leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. That amendment is withdrawn.

The amendment (No. 142) was withdrawn.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, third reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

The bill (S. 544), as amended, was passed.

(The bill will be printed in a subsequent edition of the RECORD.)

Mr. REID. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Is there not an order already entered that holds this bill now for the receipt of the bill from the House on the same subject?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. STEVENS. Therefore, we are finished with the supplemental, correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. I send an amendment to the desk.

Mr. WARNER. Will the Senator yield so I can speak on behalf of the majority leader?

Mr. BIDEN. Sure. I withhold.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. CON. RES. 21

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate now proceed to the concurrent resolution sent to the desk regarding Kosovo and there be a time period, of which I think we will have a discussion first, for debate equally divided between the two leaders, no amendments or motions be in order. Further, I ask that following the time constraints the Senate pro-

ceed to vote on agreeing to the resolution, with no intervening action or debate.

Mr. President, for the convenience of Senators, I have—

Mr. STEVENS. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WARNER. I have not put anything to the Chair yet. If I could just—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BYRD. Reserving the right to object.

Mr. WARNER. Thank you. I will just place on the desks copies of it so Senators can have an opportunity to read it. We have now dropped the second section. We have gone back to the original provision, and I shall read it, and then Senators can have copies. "Concurrent Resolution, Authorizing"—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has made a unanimous consent request. Is there objection?

Mr. WARNER. I am still in the process of making it, if I may, Mr. President, if that is agreeable.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Reserving the right to object. I am not clear what the request is.

Mr. WARNER. If I could just finish my comments, then I will be happy to entertain any objections or otherwise.

It is a concurrent resolution authorizing the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States is authorized to conduct military air operations and missile strikes in cooperation with our NATO allies against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

The reason I have not formally proposed the UC is we are trying to determine the time that would be required by both sides.

Might I suggest a period of, say, 2 hours for purposes of debate?

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I suggest that we need a lot less time than that. I suggest 30 minutes equally divided.

Mr. WARNER. Thirty minutes equally divided is fine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, my objection is still standing but I withdraw it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is withdrawn.

Mr. BIDEN. Parliamentary inquiry: Is the Senate concurrent resolution at the desk?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is at the desk.

Mr. BIDEN. It is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has not been reported, however.

Mr. BIDEN. I suggest that it be reported.

AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONDUCT MILITARY AIR OPERATIONS AND MISSILE STRIKES AGAINST THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 21) authorizing the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STEVENS. Parliamentary inquiry: How much time is involved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirty minutes equally divided.

Mr. STEVENS. Who is handling the opposition?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The two leaders or their designees.

Mr. WARNER. I am, of course, in favor, as the cosponsor with Mr. BIDEN, so I suggest that the Senator from Idaho, Mr. CRAIG, be a manager.

Mr. BIDEN. I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, this is a very straightforward concurrent resolution, but I think it bears reading again.

It says,

Authorizing the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States is authorized to conduct military air operations and missile strikes in cooperation with our NATO allies against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

It is straightforward and simple. It is a clear up-or-down vote on whether or not we support the action that is contemplated by the President, that NATO, through its action order—so-called action order—has authorized Solana to call for at his discretion and concurrence with the leaders of the 19 NATO countries.

I think we have debated this a lot. There are very strong views on this. I happen to think this is an authority that Congress should be giving the President, but at a minimum I think most of us agree that the President needs to hear from the Congress as to what our position is.

I strongly urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

I reserve the remainder of the time.

Mr. WELLSTONE. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BIDEN. I am happy to respond to a question.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank my colleague.

Could my colleague, for the purposes of the legislative record, spell out the objective? The President is authorized to "conduct military operations." Could my colleague spell out what his understanding is?

Mr. BIDEN. My understanding of the objective stated by the President is that his objective is to end the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and the persecution of the Albanian minority population in Kosovo and to maintain security and stability in the Balkans as a consequence of slowing up, stopping, or curtailing the ability of Milosevic and the Serbian VJ and the MUP to be able to go in and cause circumstances which provide for the likelihood of a half-million refugees to destabilize the region.

The objective at the end of the day: Hopefully, this will bring Milosevic back to the table. Hopefully, he will agree to what all of NATO said they wanted him to agree to, and hopefully that will occur. In the event that it does not occur, the objective will be to degrade his military capability so significantly that he will not be able to impose his will upon Kosovo, as he is doing now.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank my colleague for his response and would like to make it clear that I believe my support would be based upon these kinds of objectives.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Senator.

Does the opposition wish more time?

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I stand in opposition to the Senate concurrent resolution and yield 2 minutes to Senator BROWNBACK.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Thank you, Mr. President. I appreciate our colleague from Idaho recognizing me to speak briefly on this amendment.

I rise in opposition to this amendment to this resolution. I think this is an ill-advised, ill-timed, inappropriate action to take, given the situation that we have, given the potential and the actual probable loss of U.S. lives, the lack of involving the entire United States in this and saying to the American people: Why are we doing this? We don't know where it is going on step 2, step 3, and step 4.

This is step 1. We go in and we bomb a sovereign nation involved in a civil war. What if he doesn't fall back? What if Milosevic doesn't say: OK, I give up, and you can have autonomy in Kosovo? What if we go ahead into Montenegro and say we want to split off. Will the United States bomb and support Montenegro in that process?

This is a very, very serious step we are taking of such foreign policy, and we have not had sufficient debate about what the U.S. position is. This is not in our strategic and vital interest of what is taking place. Yet we are going to go forward and start a bombing campaign. We need to have a thorough, extensive debate here, involving the American people, as to whether or not this is in our vital and strategic in-

terests. I submit that has not taken place to date. The administration has not brought the Congress along, and this is an inappropriate, ill-timed event and action for us to take and is not being supported by the American people.

For those reasons, I will be opposing this resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Senator KERRY.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I believe that the way we have arrived here is less than ideal. However, the choices we have are also not ideal. The choice of doing nothing is absolutely unacceptable.

While I will have more to say about the process by which we got here, there are powerful strategic, humanitarian, and historical reasons that the United States, in a broad-based, NATO-based effort, ought to be doing what it is engaged in.

I think it is important for all of our colleagues to reflect on the fact, this is not the United States acting unilaterally; this is all of the allies, all together, all of them coming together, with a preponderance ultimately of European involvement if there ever is a peace process to enforce.

I want to emphasize one thing with respect to the goals and objectives. I view these as very limited in their current structure. I view it as essentially an effort to try to minimize Milosevic's capacity militarily to ethnically cleanse. It is hoped that you might also secure the peace. It is hoped that you might also be able to move to a more broad-based enforcement process. But I don't view that as the essential objective. The essential objective is to minimize his capacity to work his will without any contravening forces that would equalize the battlefield, if you will, and minimize the capacity for ethnic cleansing. That is the overpowering strategic and, I think also, humanitarian interest here, and I think it is important for the Senate to stay focused on the limitations.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Alaska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we are in this situation because sometime last year the administration authorized our representatives of NATO to enter into an agreement that would allow NATO forces to conduct strike operations against the Serbs if they did not sign an agreement that was sought—the "peace agreement" so-called. That did not occur. Suddenly, we find that now here we are with one sentence, one sentence approving the concept of sending in airstrikes against that nation. We do not have a prohibition against the use of ground forces, and I told the President this morning I would support this resolution if it did.

But beyond that, I am constrained to say that I remember standing here on the floor in 1991 when Iraq invaded Kuwait, when racial cleansing was not